701 643 [776] leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*, "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 646 The continual election of such high officers from the same family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

• 441 463 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth: trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

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*Se'-wah-co-atl.

a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants,
led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members
traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign
produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a
special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 441
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, 439
tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In 463
time they performed an important political function, spying
out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which
could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the
economic and political functions of these merchants who so
often brought military conquest in their train.[7] (See Plate
38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed
drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual
participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence
depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [122]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

house, going around the fireplace. Then they came out. Then in the lead were those carrying [the gifts] in their arms, quietly going to the tribal temple—the bathed ones following, coming after [the others].

And when they had come to the tribal temple, thereupon the bathed ones danced in the courtyard. And they placed the gifts in the tribal temple. And they placed aside the capes, the breech clouts, the skirts, the shifts. Then first came the bidden guests. [The owners] offered gifts to each of them. And the women stood apart, in line. They also offered gifts to them.

And this was the office of only the merchants, who bathed and purchased [the slaves].

And when those had been completely arrayed who had come together and been given gifts, then they took the victims [that] they might go into the sand.[8] When they reached the [pyramid] temple of the demon, then all climbed up to the temple. When they had come to the top, then they circled about the sacrificial stone, and climbed down [the other] side.

And when they had come down to the ground, when they had reached the earth, then all ran to their tribal temples. And some went slowly. When they entered [the tribal temples], then [the merchants] took from them their paper vestments, and then they were placed upon mats. They served food, or wine, to whoever might wish it. All night they had them keep vigil.

And when midnight arrived, then they ranged them in a row, and cut hair from the crowns of their heads. When they had cut the hair from their heads, then they put it away for themselves (as hath been told in [the account of] Quecholli).

And when this was done, then were eaten [*tamales* of a dough of] amaranth seed, all at the same time, everywhere in the houses of the common folk. None failed to eat the amaranth seed [*tamales*]. And no one broke the amaranth seed [*tamales*] with his hand; they sliced it with [a length of] *maguey* fiber. And when the amaranth seed [*tamales*] had been eaten, thereupon were taken up the straw mats; they rolled them up and set them, in order, outside the door. Thereupon they lay upon the earth, the cold ground, [on] old capes, or old pieces of *maguey* fiber cloth, of which they made couches for themselves.

And upon the morrow, when it was still a little dark, then [he who carried the figure of] Paynal

in tlanapaloa; vmpa tlamattivi in calpulco, ça tetocativi in tlaaltilti, ça tlatzacutivi. 796 ✓

Auh in oacito calpulco: njman ie ic mjtotia, in tlaaltilti, in jtoalco: auh in tetlauhtilli, qujcalaquja in calpulco: no nonqua qujtlalia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in cueitl, in vipilli: mec commoiacatia in tlacoanotzalti, qujoalmacatimanj, ceceniaca in innetlauhtil: auh in cioa, nonqua mocempanoa: no qujnoalmacatimanj, in innetlauhtil:

auh inin çan mjacavia in pochteca, in tealtianj, in tecoanj. [441]

Auh in ôtecencaoaloc, in oncenvetz, in ontetlauhtiloc: njman ie ic qujnvica in tlaaltilti, xalaqujzque: in onacique tlacateculotl iteupan, mec tleco in teucalticpac, in vmpanvetzito: mec qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl, can jc oaltemotimanj, centlapal.

Auh in otemoco tlalchi, in otlaltitech acico, mec oalmotlatlaloa in incacalpulco: auh in cequjntin, çan jvian in iativi: in ocalaqujto, njmã ie ic qujntlatlalilia in jmamatlatquj, mec motlalia in petlapã qujnchieltia in tlaqualli, anoço vctli, in catle cônequjzque, ceioal in qujntoçavia.

Auh in oacic iooalnepantla: mec qujntetpana, in qujntzoncujzque: in oqujmontzoncujque, mec motlatlatilia (in iuh omjto ipan quecholli).

Auh in ommochiuh y, mec tzoalqualo, olvetzi in novian macecoalpan, aiac in maca tzoalqua: auh in tzoalli, aiac imatica qujcotonaia: ichtli injc qujxotlaticate: auh in ontzoalqualoc, njmã ie ic mecoa in petlatl, qujilacatzoa, qujiaoac qujoalmamana; njmã ie ic netetzco, çan tlalpan, tlalitzticapan, ça tilmaçolli, anoço aiaçolli in commopepechtia, in commopepechtia. [264]

[513]

Auh in otlatvic ça oc achi tlatlaiovatoc, njmã ie ic oaltemo in teucalticpac in Paynal in jxiptla Vitzil-

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[8] 8. Cf. p. [illegible], n. 7, supra.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58] 174 648 727 [558]

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[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos teuvieron grandes diferencias: é Monteçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por lo asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeudar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los quel quiso enriquesçer con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de allí, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mesquique, é que le sirviessen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Monteçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "*Face in the Water*," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by *force of arms* this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the *lords*, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilulco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336). [141]

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II. cap. XV, p. 188): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. 463 We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the mer- 441 chants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.[74] The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

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[73] That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape [651] of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap LI, p. 530. Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathy chief" towards the "*jewellers*" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Tezozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagun. See also: *Zurita* (" *Rapport*, etc.," p. 223). *Bustamante* (" *Tezcuco*, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 126). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 460). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 221 and 222).

[74] The existence of currency, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shapen 436 pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See 437 for instance, *Prescott* (" *Conquest of Mexico*," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 381, 382, and 383). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* (" *Carta Quarta*" in Vedia I, p. 111), says very positively that at Tachco, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("á manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives, ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de laton y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "*jiquipiles*" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it," ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* (" Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuatl, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (Id., p. 451). "No tenian moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundir y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacauatl ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 560). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patolquachtli. . . . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("planchuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians," ("traian unos Cañutillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonso Zuazo* (" *Carta*

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

● 441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

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436 *el Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa.*" Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I, p. 361).
437 "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conqueror* (p. 388, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e è moneta la piu commune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro è l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 199) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usauanlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper* or *golden* "*Eagles*" given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figura de T.—Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "toldár" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

291 Anyone reading *Tezozomoc* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc's conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De novo Orbe.*" Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith, but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they lette the couering hang downe, which scarce couereth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small moment, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

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437 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from outside of his own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 23 and 28), *Bernal Diaz* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 89, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe lábrar sutilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 42), "que venden mantas," "que venden cotaras" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "olleros," "que

sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man 441
who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men 439
gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the 441
market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products 648
for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of 441
Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The recep- 527
tion was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

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venden comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 86, etc.), 441
"oficial de navajas," "*Los* que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 89). In general, nearly
all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of 439
their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII). 437

[75] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte *IIa*, p. 157; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 157, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[76] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicequitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 346, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "nacaloztomeca," literally "peddlars of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited: They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond 441 the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the 556 achievements.[78] 565

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[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mézique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857-1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 56), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. *I*, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 566), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los sènadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por si; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 340-342), [651 how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands 648] quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.

565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 380 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 380, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap.
[681] XXXVIII, p. 336, etc., and others. But as to any seperate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

[618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Acachtlan, y otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las orejeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each
[482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cado uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes 565
within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

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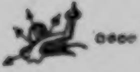
seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. [482]
XL, p. 509), sixty pounds.

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially 441/
to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer 556
to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136), who embodies in a few words the 565
statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 70), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers.

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo. y temido por valiente: poníanle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un tecle*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 223 and 224). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéuales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mexique*," p. 267). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 339) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlaltelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 342) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 223) "ils jouissaient de certains priviléges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 236). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only *by* the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 130) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 536).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 65, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. [illegible] and [illegible]).



Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787x

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo 681
qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuex- 684
cochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, 727
in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: 761
auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacatecolo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatz- 789
tzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia.
824

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, 441 ●
in oztomeca, in motlacamati, in qujveimatia, qujmaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli 527
qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomaiic, in acatic, in ie 556
ixqujch cozcatl, in concapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in ixqujch nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli

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[1] *Xocovitztli*. — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jocuiste* — *Bromelia pinguin* L. "*En Méjico, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y cría hojas semejantes a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica.*"

[2] Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tiquen, Macuilmalinal, Xchua, Tlaci, Xilo, Tepotzonal, Coyotlinahual, Chicome ocelotl, Xochiquetzal, Yiacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, op. cit., p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-34, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

[3] *Acxoteca* or *pochtecatlailotlac*, "*mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y tiene dos nombres . . . se apellidan el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 60): "*eine chichimekischer Volksstamm in der südöstlich des Sees von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Naui Ehecatl, Chiconquiauitl, Xomocuil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecacihuatl (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book 1, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 328, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Mann aus dem Orte Oztoman . . . der auf Wanderschaft gehende Klein- und Markthändler sowohl als der auf weite Reisen gehende Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

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tematoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*teoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in qujlhuja cenciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan tototcujtlapiltic, ioan in qujlhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinitzcan, in teoquechol: in axcan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtototl, in aiopal, in toztli, in tozcujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoiotl, in chamolin, in cujtlatexotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequanecoatl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teintoc, [ỹ pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan qujcentecaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlatlamantiliaia, qujviuipanaia, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, ichoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetque, nepielotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaaujaxtoc, puctleoatoc,

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[6] Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. viii, fol. 205: [illegible], for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrauan unas piedras unas redondas y esquinadas, otras largas y rollizas, y esquinadas, otras triangulados, otras* [illegible] *otras cuadradas.*"

[7] Quetzal cane plug, in [illegible], *loc. cit.*

[8] *Tzinitzcan.* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Trogonurus mexicanus, T. ambiguus* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 346). In Seler, *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and shoulder feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

[9] *Tlauhquechol.* In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 62, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 63, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 3; *Ajaja ajaja* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 356).

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[10] Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an *ayoquan* found in mountains about Cuextlan and Michoacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a waterfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green; long wing and tail feathers are blackish, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Agamia agami* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'orfèvrerie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler la pierre et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 68, Eduard Seler translates *ayopal* as [illegible], referring to Molina, *op. cit., chicual amarillo — ayopaliuhqui.*

[11] Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

[12] Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Gymnostinops Montezumae* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

[13] Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*especie de loro, del género Chrysotis.*" *Cocho* or *cochotl* — "*Papagayo rojo y morado.*" *Amazona albifrons albifrons* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 338).

[14] *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Nombre vulgar que en el Estado de Guerrero, en México, se da al tabachín o chamolxóchitl.*" *Chamolxóchitl:* Azt., *chamolli* ([illegible]) — "*tabachín o flor del camarón* (*Poinciana pulcherrima*)."

[15] Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

[16] Corresponding Spanish text: *atapadores de* [illegible] *para tecomates.*

[17] An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio MS*, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

[18] *Catepan:* the cedilla is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, fault-finding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli qujqujztoc, atle monectoc, 441
iehoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatotonja, in puchteca. 527
556

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puch- 441
teca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujn-
tic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmecoaltia, ic mjxmo- 527
tlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmo-
qujchtiliz, oc cenca iehoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, 554
qujtoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic 521
conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, iehoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli.

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica maujltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ic vncan in ĩtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopâpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquâquatoque, mjxquâquatoque, motlatolxopeuhtoque, moichoatocatoque, âmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecentetl itlatol, atle ipan qujmoteztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

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[19] [illegible] in the Real Palacio MS. [illegible]

[20] [illegible] in loc. cit.

[21] Possibly [illegible] and [illegible] are intended.

[22] [illegible] in the Real Palacio MS.

441 held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others.
Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one
527 thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one
554 thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each
spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say
521 a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard
merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he
were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a
buyer of slaves,[23] a ceremonial bather of captives to
be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying
frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one
drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo oztomecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujltonoa, intlacamo ontlaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecoanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo cacatzcatoc, nanatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlioa ichan et.ª.

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jncacalitic: in jpan jn tonalli navecatl.

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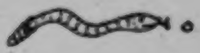
[23] Or "one who summoned guests."



787 **Sixteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the ninth sign, called One Serpent.[1] It was considered a good day sign, if those same ones then born did not harm it. And the merchants expected much of it, because of their way of livelihood.

One Serpent set in. It was said to be a good day sign. Of one born on it, they said his deserts and merits would be to become wealthy. There would be wherewith to eat and drink. And in war, in time of battle, he would become a brave warrior and a chieftain; he would attain renown, honor, glory, and fame. Perchance he would be a ruler or a lord. And if it were a woman, she would be quite rich; she would be a good provider; she would be well-born. She would look to and guard the services and the property of our lord. She would be a guardian and administrator. Much would she gather, collect, save, and justly distribute among her children.

But it was also said that although such became the deserts of one then born (as is already said in many places), if he did not diligently do penance, if he paid not good heed, he indeed failed, and personally brought upon himself that he lost through neglect, and destroyed and ruined what were his deserts. This was because he neglected things, worked unwillingly, was lukewarm, and lacked forethought and diligence. Indolent, he let nothing be done. He was careless, exceedingly careless, slothful, negligent, listless, and slow; a great and heavy sleeper. And he was incorrigible. He would only neglect things through laziness; advice offended and angered him.

So it was said of him: "So he is; he made no provision for food, for there was constant running about." There was no getting to bed, no arising; he stretched his limbs, quite exhausted by fatigue and effort. To no purpose did he give or publicly display wealth and prosperity, and the joys and comforts of wealth.

787 And it was said that on One Serpent the merchants and vanguard merchants,[2] the exploring

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicunaulteti machiotl, in jtoca ce coatl: qujlmach qualli tonalli: intlacamo çan iehoantin qujtlacoaque in vncan tlacati: auh in puchteca cenca qujmatatacaia, in jpampa in jnnetlaiecoltiliz.

Moquetza ce coatl: injn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: in aqujn ipã tlâtacia, qujtoaia: ilhujle, maceoale iez, mocujltonoz, oniez in qujquaz, in qujz, auh in iaoc, in iaopan, oqujchtiz, tiacauhtiz, momaviçoltiz panvetziz, maviçoaz, moteniotiz, aço tlatocatiz, tecutiz, auh intla cioatl, vel motlacamatiz, vel motlaiecoltiz, vel motlacatiz, qujttaz, qujpiaz in jteicneliliz, in jcococauh totecujo, tlaçaloanj, tlapachoanj iez. vel qujntlaçalhujz, qujntlapachilhujz, qujntetzontiz, qujntlatlamachiz in jpilhoan,

auh ioan mjtoa, maçivi in iuhquj in inemac mochioa, in jpan tlacati (ca ie omjto mjeccan) intlacamo iê vellamacehoa, intlacamo vel monotza, catle vnqujça, ca incoian conmocaujlia, qujmjxcaoaltia, qujmopolhuja, qujmopopolhuja, in jmaceoal ocatca: ipampa içan tlatlacomati, tlaavilmati, tlaquelchioa, tlatlacanequj, qujtenmati, acontlaeltia, aiel atle conmochichioaltia, vel cujtlatzcopic, cujtlatzcocopic, cujtlananaca, cujtlaçotlac, cujtlatzol, qujtenmatitl, cochpal, cochmjmjl: ioan auel monotza, çan qujtenmati, qujquammati, qujtlauelchioa, in tlatolli,

iehoatl injc mjtoa: ca nel amaqaauja, in qualonj, ca nenenoqujlilo, amo neteteco, amo nequequetzalo: vel inqujch maana, vel ontlamj in ciaujztli, in tlapaliuiztli, amo çan motenenmaca, amo çan teixpanvetzi, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli, in netlacamatiliztli, in netlacamachiliztli.

Ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce coatl, cenca qujqualittaia in puchteca, in oztomeca, in jaque, in nênemjnj, in

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[1] In the MS, apparently *ce quiauitl* has been corrected to read *ce coatl*.

[2] *V. supra*, Chap. 12.

787 441 484 merchants[3] and traveling men, those who entered distant lands, regarded [the day] as very favorable. It was their day sign and time count, when [a merchant] took to the road and set forth to far lands.

441 484 And he who was about to set forth, when he had prepared himself and filled and made ready the carrying-frames, then summoned, gathered, assembled together, assembled together,[4] and notified his elders, the old merchants. They were given drink, food, and wine, in order to make it publicly known that this one now wished to depart and go hence; to break away; that he still wished to abandon the people and disappear. And, it was said, he still wished to be extinguished from view for a time. In this way he made it clear to the people; he made it very clear to the people. That is to say, it was well known to those who yet tarried in their homes, to those who went nowhere.

vecacalaquinj, intonalpan catca, intlapoalpan catca, iehoatl quijtztivia, vncan vmpeoaia in veca:

auh in aqujn ie vmpeoaz in omochichiuh, in otlacacaxten, in otlacacaxchichiuh: njman tetlalhuja, quijncentlalia, quijnnechicoa, quijnnechicoa, quijnmachitia in jvevetiovan, in puchteca veuetque, atlioa, tlaqualo, tlaoano, inic teixpan motlalia, in aqujn ie oncholoteoaznequj, ie onmoquetzteoaznequj, ie onueuetzteoaznequj, in oc ontetlalcaujznequj, oc ompoliuhtoznequj, ioan mjtoa: oc onmjxcevjznequj, quexqujch caujtl inic teixco ovevetz, omach teixcoveuetz, qujtoznequj cenca ie macho, in jc ie vecaua ichan, in jc aoccampa iauh.

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[3] Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371.

[4] In the MS. [illegible] is repeated.

The Seventeenth Chapter telleth of the admonitions of the old merchants when they counseled their sons as they were about to depart and gain their livelihoods in distant places, when for the first time they wished to go and set forth.

And then the old men besought each one; they greeted, animated, and encouraged him; they prepared and singled him out; they greeted him with tears, prepared him to receive misery and torment, etc.

They said to him: "Thou art here, O my son, my beloved son; O youth, my beloved youth! O noble youth, thou hast sought out, beckoned to, and summoned thy mothers and fathers, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, the exploring merchants. Verily, here thou lookest into their faces; thou knowest them. Ah! They will leave and offer thee a word of advice and counsel. This they have carried and borne; it tortured and trained,[1] so that they benefited in such places as the mountains and the deserts.

"And this is the word of advice and counsel with which I console thee, who art my beloved son. So I become thy mother and father; so thou hast me as protector and comforter. Thou who art poor shalt already set forth from and leave the city, thy home—Mexico, Tlatilulco, or Tenochtitlan. Already thou art about to abandon and forsake thy kinsmen; already thou art about to abandon thy home, the rooms of thy house, thy homeland, the resting-place of thy head, thy child's crib, thy hair-tuft. Already thou comest to One Serpent, the straight way, the wide road;[2] already thou followest along and goest toward the desert and the plain.

"Wretched art thou, O my son, O youth! Exert all thy force. Where, in truth, shalt thou live? Shalt thou perchance die here? O that somewhere the

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in intenonotzaliz puchteca, in veuetque, in qujmjlhujaia inpilhoan, in iquac ie onoçanque, in veca motlaiecoltizque, in qujn iiopa iaznequj, vmpeoaznequj. 441

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Auh njman ie cecenca qujtlatlauhtia in veuetque: qujtlapaloa, qujchicaoa, quellaquaoa, qujtetziloa, ic qujlpia, qujchoqujztlapaloa, qujtlaquammaca in netolinjliztli, in tlaihijoviliztli. Etc.

Qujlhuja ca njcan tonca nopiltze, nopiltzine, telpuchtle, notelpuchtze, telpuchtze: ca otiqujmontemoc, otiqujmontzatzili; otiqujmonnenotzallan, in monaoan, in motahoan, in puchteca, in oztomeca, in iiaque: ca njcan imjxco, ymjcpac, titlachia, tiqujmonjximati, ã mjtzcavilizque, ã mjtzmacazque in cententli, yn cencamatl, in jntlatequja, yn jntlamamaia, in jntlacaxcaltiaia, in jntlacaoapaoaia, injc otlamaviçoque, in iuhcan in quauhtla, in çacatla:

auh injn ca njcan cententli, cencamatl, ic njmjtziollalia, ic njmjtzchicaoa in tinopiltzin, inic njmona, njmota, injc timonanmati, injc timotatmati: timotolinja, ca ie tonmoquetzaz, ie tocontlalcaviz in altepetl, in mochan in mexico, in tlatilulco, anoço in tenuchtitlan, ie tiqujmoncaubtiaz, ie tiqujmocaubteoaz, in mooaniolque: ie tontlacaubteoaz in mochan, in mocalitic, in moqujiacan, in motolcan ÿ moquechtetzon imocan, in momanacal, anoço momatetzon, ie toconnamjqujz in ce coatl, in vtli melaoac, in vchpantli, ie tonontocaz, ie toconnamjqujz in jxtlaoatl, in vei tlalli.

Timotolinja nopiltze, telpuchtle, ma ximellaquaoa, can nel timomjqujz? cuix njcan timomjqujliz? ma cana ixtlauhto, popoubto: in inchoqujz, in jntlaocol,

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[1] Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba: Imprenta Mayli, S. A., 1940), p. 108, for use of [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] could be rendered as "protection." Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 211, and Siméon, *op. cit.*

[2] Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), III, 3, 5: "*Ce coatl, vtli melaoac, que es uno de los cuatro caracteres o signos de la arte adivinatoria.*"

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mars, the pity of thy elders, the old ones, may go as reward and recompense, to gird and clothe thee. For[3] thus did thy elders go. For they went learning of war, performing the way of life of the road. So with struggle they gained and sought [honors] from him by whom we live. So they prayed.[4]

"But [as for] this: then to it! Be covered and engulfed by torment. For now shalt thou come to know, feel, and deal exclusively with misery, hunger, starvation, thirst, emptiness,[5] *fatigue*.[6] For verily thy provisions have ended — that with which one hath traveled. Perhaps thou shalt chew dry tortillas — parched tortillas, wretched, tough-cooked things, ill-smelling tamales. Perhaps thou shalt drink sour, bitter water, dirty and foul.

"And verily, thou shalt draw near to, approach, and come against the menacing river, which seemeth a torrent, roaring and crashing as it sweepeth by. It carrieth everything with it and goeth destroying great trees. And there shalt thou wait some days; thou shalt be isolated by the water; thou shalt suffer with thy pangs of hunger and unrest.

"If thou wouldst gain honor by such as this, O my son, be not shameless; do not faint; be not womanish. Give thyself completely to the torment; enter into it; deliver thyself to it with all thy force, so preparing for it, etc. For verily thou seekest and travelest into such places as thy elders, the old men, served. For they thus hurled themselves at and delivered to torment, and exposed themselves to danger and adversity. For not without reason did the merchants take and find leadership and the wisdom of old age, become leaders, and receive their authority in exchange.

"And of this, O poor youth, if something should be thy reward and deserts, if our lord should show esteem by something for thee, thou must first feel and profit by the pain, the afflictions, the privations, the ambushes. Such is exacted from those who go from city to city. Yet there will be times of need. Thou shalt become tired and worn out; thou shalt stand exhausted; thou shalt go wearied by heat, spent by winds. Thy face will become dust-covered and

in motechiuhcaoan, in vevetque: in njcan ic mjtzapana, ic mjtzqujmjloa: a oiuhiaque in motechiuhcaoan, ca intecuauh, intlachinol oquijmattiaque, oquijchiuhtiaque in vtli, in nenemjliztli, injc oquijtlamatataqujlitiaque oqujtlaitlanjlitiaque in tloque in nauaque, injc ixillan, itoncatlan omamaiauhtiaque:

auh injn, macuele timaliuj, ma xocontimalo in tlaihiiouiliztli, ca ie toconmatiz, ie toconjxcauiz, ie toconcenmatiz in netolinjliztli, in apjzmjqujliztli, in teociujliztli, in amjqujliztli, in atetzoconqujliztli, in ciammjqujliztli: auh in nel otlatlan in motacatzin, in motlatocaia: cujx a ticmoqualtiz, in tlaxcalquappitztli, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, in totopuchtzintli, in tamaliiacatzintli: auh cujx a ticmjtiz in xococ atl, in alchichic, in tlaelatl, in atzoatl.

Auh ca itech taçitiuh, itech tipachiujtiuh, itech timotzotzonatiuh in temamauhti atl, in iuhquj çolonj, in iuhquj tetecujcatiuh xaxamacatiuh ic iauh, in moch qujujca qujtzineuhtiuh, vevei quauitl: auh ca vncan tiquetzqujlhujtiz, timatzaquaz, titlaihiiouiz in mocujtlaxcoltica, in monetequjliztica:

intla ticmaujçoz, in iuhquj in, nopiltze, ma titlapinauhti, ma titlacuecuetlaxo, ma timocioatlamachti, iẽ xicmocenmaca, itlan xaquj, xicmotlaquammaca, ic ximotetzilo in tlaihiiouiliztli. Et.[3] ca nel ie in titemoa, ca ie in tictotocac, ca iuhcan otlacotiqūe in motechiuhcaoan, in veuetque, ca ic omomotlaque oqujmomacaque in tlaihiiouiliztli: injc amo oqujtlaçotlaque in jntzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, ca amo cacujque qujnenecujque injc oqujttaque in tachcauhiiotl, in veuciotl, injc ie petlati, ie icpalti, injc ie contlanevi in jnjetl, in jmicpal in puchteca.

Auh in y, timotolinja telpuchtle, intla itla mocnopil, momaceoal mochioaz intla itla ipan mjtzpoaz tetecujo: ca oc toconjttaz, oc toconmaujçoz in tecoco, in tetolinj, in aiecoliztli, in teiacacpa qujqujz: in iuh qujmotzaqua in aoacan, tepeoacan: ca oc vmpa onqujçaz, ticiammjqujz, timociappoaz, timociauhquetztiaz, titonalciauhtiaz, teecaciiauhtiaz, tixtlaltzin timochiuhtiaz, tixtlalteuhpipixcauhtiaz, mjxquatzin tlatlatiaz, mjtonaltzin ticmacujtiaz, vel tima-

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[3] *Real Palacio MS*: ca.

[4] Corresponding Spanish text: "*Y es esto, ganaron la honra que tuvieron: como la ganan los hombres valientes, en la guerra: con estos trabajos, alcançaron de nuestro señor, las riquezas que tuvieron.*" Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xliii, fol. [illegible] ([illegible]).

[5] [illegible]

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "*es menester que te esfuerces, y [illegible] animo para sufrir los trabajos, que [illegible]: que son, hambre, y sed, y cansancio, y falta de mantenimientos.*"

deathly white. Thy forehead will burn; thou shalt wipe the sweat off with thy hand; indeed thou shalt be bathed [in it]. In the corner, by the wall, behind the door, thou shalt hang thy head. Thy stomach will stick to thee [from hunger].[7]

"Thou shalt go into, entering, and leaving, city after city. Thou shalt be in danger; it will not be well with thee. That is to say, perchance it will not prosper; perhaps thy stock of goods, thy just deserts, thy dealings, will not result well. Thou shalt be long-suffering; thou shalt shed tears. Thy good deeds will not bear fruit, for fatigue will take thy measure. Indeed, thy breath and courage will end.[8]

"Perhaps somewhere in a gorge, at the mouth of a canyon, on some high place, at the base of a rock, at the foot of a tree, shalt thou sleep. Perchance somewhere thou shalt be destroyed; our lord will end thy existence. And perhaps thou shalt never come to make thy way back. For no one knoweth.

"Yet may it be well with thee. Go praying to our lord for mercy. Be not negligent. Think only of and be dedicated to penances. Be diligent in providing water for the washing of the face and hands, and in sweeping and gathering up rubbish.[9]

"Leave no one behind thee, etc.[10] Do not take to thy feet leaving one unaided behind thee. That is to say, do not go retreating in haste, running to the rear, fleeing in battle, following thy nose back. Remember one thing: go knowing, devoted, and dedicated to suffering. Perhaps he by whom we live will give thee something as thy deserts and merit.

"Perhaps once more thy mothers, thy fathers, and thy kinsmen will look thee in the face. Verily, what thou shalt eat and drink will be the advice we here give thee. For with all this we gird, fortify, and bind thee. We thy mothers and fathers implore thee: pay good attention; look well; take care, O my son. Go in peace, leaving thy aunts and uncles, etc."

In this manner did they animate and encourage the one not yet much experienced — who perhaps

liviz in texomolo, in tecaltech, in tetlatzacujltitlan; timotololtitiez, mocujtlaxcol motech motetecâtiez,

timâaquiz, timocacalaquiz, timoquiqujxtiz: in aoacan, tepeoacan, timotzotzonaz, timocacapaniz, qujtoznequj: ac aço can tle uel onmochioaz, ac aço can tle onmaqujtiz in motiamjc, in mocnopillo, in monentlamatia, ca uel icnoioaz in moiollo, mjxaiotzin ticmatentiez: amo ticaxcânviz, in mocneliloca, ca timjhiiotamachioaz, vel ontlamjz in mjhiio in motlapaliujz:

in aço cana atlauhitic, atlauhcamac, tlacopac, tetl itzintlan, quavitl itzintlan timocochitiz, in aço cana timopopoliujtiz, mjtztlatiz totecujo: auh in anoçoc mjlech, monecuepal ticchioaqujuh: caiac vntlamati,

ma oc iẽ moiolic: xictzotlaocolnonochilitiuh in totecujo, ma timoxiccauh, ma xoconjxcauj, xocôcenmati in tlamaceoaliztli, xicmocujtlauj in tecatnapaqujliztli, in temâtequjliztli: auh in tlachpanaliztli, in tlacujcujliztli,

macamo ce mônjca, moteputzco xiqual. et[a] macamo ce mônjca, moteputzco xiqual. Et.[a] macamo cemjcampa, moteputzco xiqualquetztiuh in mocxi, qujtoznequj, macamo xitzintlaççatiuh, macamo xitzinqujztiuh, macamo xitzinqujzcatlaiecotiuh, xicalnacazitztiuh, maca tle xiqualilnamjctiuh: ma çan centlamjc xocommattiuh, ma xoconcenmattiuh, xoconixcaujtiuh, in tlaihiiioujliztli, açitla mjtzmâcecaltiz, mjtzilhujltiz in tloque, naoaque:

açoc ceppa mjxco, mocpac tlachiazque in monaoan, in motaoan, in mooanioique: ca ticquaz, ca tiquiz in njcan ic timjtznonotza, a iequjch ic timjtzonâpana, timjtzontetzilo, aco timjtzilpia in timonaoan, in timotaoan, timjtztlatlauhtia, tlẽ ticmati, tle ticmomachitia, tlẽ ticmatcatzintli nopiltze, ma iiolic ximovicatiuh, xiqujmontlalcauj in maujoã in motlaoan. Et[a].

Ivin in quellaquaoaia, in qujchicaoaia, in aiamo cenca ixtlamati, in aço qujn jiopa tevica, motevicaltia,

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7. Ibid.: "tendreys la barriga pegada a las costillas de hambre."

8. Ibid.: "Y demas desto, os afligira la duda de la venta de vuestras mercadurias: que por ventura no se venderan, y desto tendreys tristeza, y lloreys [illegible] diziendo algun cordel, o [illegible]: [illegible] de ser afligido, y trabajado, hasta lo ultimo de [illegible]."

9. Ibid.: "desyendo humildemente a los mayores en cosas humildes: como es dar agua a manos, y barrer, etc."

10. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 40; Seler, Einige Kapitel, p. 294 (die hier, hinter dir [illegible]); Garibay, op. cit., p. 232 (superviviente). For xiqual, read xiqualcuepaiuh or a similar term. The text is garbled, as is seen in the Aztec column of the MS.

441 484 for the first time went with and was one of a company of others [going to] places of which he wished to know, and departing for distant lands. Yet everywhere they cared for him, teaching and instructing him with these words. In such places as the forests and deserts he realized the estate of merchant or vanguard merchant.[11]

in canpa ie ontlamatizneqni, injc ie vmpeua vica, oc noviian quijncujtia, quitlâtlatitia, quitlâtlachicltia in jxtlatoltica, in iuhcan quauhtla, çacatla in amaxcavia in puchtecaiotl, in oztomecaiotl.

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[11] Corresponding Spanish text: *"Desta manera los mercaderes viejos, a los mancebos: que nuevamente yvă con otros mercaderes, a tierras estrañas a mercadear: los hablavan, y esforçavan: y ponian delante los trabajos, y dificultades, en que se avian de ver: assi en los poblados, como en los desiertos en la prosecucion de su oficio, de mercaderia."*

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Eighteenth Chapter. Here are told [what] the talk and discourse were of those same old merchants which they repeated to their sons who already knew distant lands.

And [as for] him who already many times had returned and come back from there and who already had beheld such [distant] places as the inhabited and populated areas, dangerous and ominous places, places of torment, they said little to him; only something well-chosen, measured,[1] approved, complimentary, discreet, agreeable, moderate, pleasing, and commending. No more was it very long and extended; no more on all occasions did they speak, nor annoy him, nor speak lightly; nor harangue inconsiderately.

Only this did they say to him: "Here thou art, O youth. No more art thou a child; no longer art thou like one afraid. For already thou hast regarded and witnessed thy dust-covered places, thy explored places, thy traveled areas which thou hast wished to know.

"In such places as forests, deserts, and cities, there is nothing to bring thee defeat, to frighten, daze, impede, or terrify thee. For already thou hast beheld all places, such as the markets, places where the merchants deal. Behold, we know not whether thy mothers and fathers lose thee forever. Perhaps thou goest for good; perhaps thou goest to be lost; perhaps somewhere into a canyon or a desert thou shalt be forced, and shalt perish; perchance in some city thou shalt come to an end. Perhaps once and for all thou art seen. Yet know and carry in thy heart that thou goest fortified by the tears and compassion of thy mothers and fathers. And if still something may become the reward of us, the old men, perhaps yet thou shalt come back and make thy return, that once more we may know thee.

"And now, take care. Travel the road with caution, lest thou stumble upon something. For desolate,

Injc caxtolli vmei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in tlatolli, in jnnenonotzaliz catca, in çan ie no iehoantin, puchteca vevetque, in qujmjlhujaia in inpilhoan in ie onmatia vecа.

Auh in aquin ie mjiecpa iloti, ie mjiecpa mocuepa, in ie onjttatica in iuhcan inentla, inemja, in oujcan, in temamauhtian, in tlaihiiouijliztitlan: ça quexquich in qujlhuja, ca eccauhquj, ca ixiececauhquj, ça tlaiecolli, ça tlauelittalli, ça temachiuhquj, ça tlaqualittalli, ça ipan qualli, ça ipan tlauelittalli, ça ipan tlaiecolli, aocmo cenca viiac, aocmo cenca vitlatztic, aocmo cenca noviian onclatoa, aocmo noviian qujnemjtia, aocmo çan ilhujatlatoa, aocmo ça ilivìz tlatoa:

ça inqujch in qujlhuja. Ca njcan tonca telpuchtle: ca aocmo tipiltontli, aocmo tiuhqui tiemmachonj, ca ie tonjttatica, ie tontlachixtica, ie mjxtlalopan, ie mjuxnentla, ie mjxonjcac, in vmpa tontlamatiznequj,

in iuhcan in quauhtla, çacatla, in aoacan, in tepeucfi, aocmo tle ic tontlapololtias, aoc tle ic tonjxmamauhtias, tonjxmjmajctias, aoc tle mjxtzaicoloÿtia, aoc tle mjxtzitzilquetzaz: ca ic noviian tonjttatica, in iuhcan in tlaiecoanian, in tlacotia in oztomeca: ca amo ticmati, anoço ie iccen mjtzixcaoa, in monaan, in motaoan, aço ie iccen tiauh, aço ie cana tontetzitiuh, aço cana atlauhtli, ixtlaoatl itic timaquijtitos, timopopoliujtitos, aço cana tictlantos in altepetl, aço ie cenmanian mjtzco mocpac ontlatlachia, ca tel iuh qujmottiuh in moiollo, ca moiollo itlan ictiuh, ca ic timellaquauhtiuh, yn jnchoqujz, yn jntlaocol in monaan, in motaoan: auh intla oqujcla tomlocoal, in tivevetque, in aço mjloch, monecuepal ticmochiujliqujuh, ca oc ceppa timjtztiximatiзque.

Auh in axcan tlé ticmomachitia: ma ilalic xocommotoqujli in vtli, ma itla tocoojcatinemij: ca amo

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1. *Real Palacio MS: ça [illegible], ça [illegible].*

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ferocious, cruel, and peopled by evil men, spreadeth the wasteland.[2] Carefully thou shalt go taking by the hand, each of them, gathering in groups, ordering, assembling, and bringing together, thy younger brethren. Do not abandon them disdainfully. Advise them as thou goest, that they may take grass and reeds and with them fashion seats [for their elders], there at the places of rest. However, all this we have given — our sighs, our discourses — to such as teachers, forest people, desert people, merchants, travelers, etc. But no longer is it necessary to relate so much to thee. For here we only encourage thee somewhat. Little by little offer thyself to the torment. Use all thy force. Thou knowest what is required, O my beloved son."

When he had been supplicated, then he also returned a few words. Thus he answered and said:

"I thank you for the favor you have shown me, O brave men. You have left me consolation. Who am I? What am I that I deserve this short talk, your encouragement, your motherliness and fatherliness? For you have opened to me [counsel] which was in your bowels, your breasts, which lay resting, guarded, and folded like precious feathers well-curved and well-pointed; like a green stone, round and well-polished; like fine turquoise, well-rubbed and glistening. Doubtless I shall treasure you; for so, covering me, penetrating my bowels and my breast, and resting in my heart, go your fatherliness and motherliness, which are not due from you. Etc.

"But this I beg you. What will our lord grant? Perchance I shall yet come to look you in the face. For now I leave you. See to the sweeping and cleaning — the little tasks of sweeping, gathering of rubbish, and laying of fires. Let it not grow dark, nor rubbish stand cast about, in my humble house. Continue to do this. I go leaving only my beloved mother, my beloved great-aunt, my beloved elder sister,[3] my beloved aunt, etc. For I go troubled and saddened on their account. Do your duty to them; advise them. Let no one make sport of them. Perchance our lord may somewhere destroy me. So all I thus entrust to you, and my heart is content."

tlacaemelitoc: ca tequanitoc, motequanitoc, amo tlaca onoc in çacatl in tlapal, ma iuian in matitech xiquimonantiuh, xiquimonanhtiuh, xiquimoololotiuh, xiquimotetepeuhtiuh, xiquimocecepuxtitiuh, xiquimocochicotiuh in moteiccahuan: ma tiquimmonoquitzquili, ma xiquimonnotztiuh: inic conecujlique in çacatzintli, in pepetzintli: inan inic contetlalilique, inteicpalnin, in campa necuejolauia, ca vel inyujch o, in otiquimmacique in tiltilo, in totlatol, in inhquj in tlacazquacain, in quauhtlaca, in çacatlaca, in puchteca in jequc et.ª ca aocmo monequj in quexquijch timitzcaqujtiaque, ca ça njcan achitzin ic timjtzonchicaoa, ma icuac itlâ xonmaquijti in tlajhiiovilitztli, ma inyujch motlapaltzin, tle ticmomachitia nopiltze:

in jquac otlatlauhtiloc, njman no ic cen camatzintli ic tlacuepa, ic tlananquilia, quitoa

Oanmechmocneliliq in ocnoquichtle: otlaceuhquj in amoiollotzin, ac nehuatl, ac njcomati, in njcan cen camatzintli niqujcaqujlia, ye amonochicaoaliztzin, in amonantzin, amotatzin, ca oaconitlapoa in amoxillantzinco, amotenecatlantzinco actica, in cepouhtoc, in cepootoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in iuhquj quetzalli, in vel vitoliuhquj, in vel inqac, auh in iuhquj chalchiujtl, in ololiuhquj, in vel patlaoac, in iuhquj teuxiujtl, in tlamatilolli, in uel.cuecueioca, ipampa namechonnotlaxilili, ca ic nimnapantiuh, nozillan, notoncatlan onactiuh, noiollo itlan onietiuh, in amonaiotzin, in amotaiotzin, in amomo anqujmaxcaujlique. Et.ª

Auh inin ca namechonnotlatlauhtilia quê tlacauaz in jiollotzin totecujo, apoc anqujtaiaco amocpactzinco njtlachieqojah ca ic namechonnotlalcaujlia, ma ipan amotlatoltiaque in tlachpanaliztli, in tlachpanalli, in tlachpanaltzintli in tlacujcujliztli, in tletlaliliztli: macamo oteiotiacan, tlapilli onquijticas, l. onquijtos, in nocnomacalco, ma oc conjacauj in ça ie nocnocauhtiuh in nonantzin, in noteçiztzin, in noveltiuhtzin, in naujtzin. Et.ª ca ica nonnotequipachotiuh, ica nontlaocoiutiuh, ma ipan anoalmoquijtzinque, ipan amomotlatoltiaque, ma caiac ica mocacaioan, in aço çana nechanepopolhuja totecujo: ca inqujch no ic amotetzinco nomocauhtiuh, vel onietiuh in noiollo.

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[2] Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. [illegible], fol. [illegible]. [illegible] "*Esto es la [illegible] y [illegible] de los antiguos. Por [illegible] que era [illegible]. Aquí en este lugar que [illegible] de [illegible] y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*"

Note, however, that in Book IX, cap. [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] are identified as [illegible].

[3] In "[illegible]" ([illegible] *de la Historia* [illegible]), p. [illegible], [illegible].

Then all his household wept over it. There were tearful greetings by all the old merchants, men and women. But he who could not weep only continued to sob behind the others, seeming to weep. And afterwards there was a little rejoicing, consolation, and drinking, to drive away and disperse sorrow. So afterwards all departed and went, and each one entered his own home.

Niman ic nechoquiliilo, in ichantlaca, nechoquiztlapaloilo, in ie muchintin pochteca veuetque, pochteca ilamatque: auh in aca aiel choca, çan tlacampa tzotzonotica, mochoquiznenequi, auh çatepan achitzin ic papaqui, neiollalilo, tlaoano, inic motlaocolpopoloa, mitlaocolcecelmana: ic çatepan motlatlalcauijo, viuiloa, cacalacoa in inchachan. 44/484

[p.68 is blank]

000 Nineteenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.

441 784 515 And his household thereupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

441 765 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

441 765 778 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set up an image of him made of pine torches bound together.[2] They made and formed his image; they adorned his likeness. This *evillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

Injc caxtolli vmnavi capitulo: vncan mitoa, in ventli in quichioaia, in impampa vecanemja ioan injc motlacoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

Auh in jchantlaca: njman iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoiotia, aocmo mamovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo pelaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamoviztiuj: injc qujnextia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamaçeoa in jnconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jacaubque, ixquich cauitl iuh qujchiuhtinemj, in jquin qujçaquiuh:

auh intla noce omjquito, iehoan achto caqujtilo, in puchteca veuetque, inteqvjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, iehoantin qujcalaquja in choquiztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjquito, ic qujtemachitia, injc nauilhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoatizque in jchantlaca, i[illegible] tlapalolozque, ellaquaoalozque, qujmjloloz in inconeuh:

auh in oquiz nauilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjilcaoa intlaocol:

auh intla [illegible] oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia icujllo, quecujllotia, quecujllo[illegible]lia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaianaia, çatepan qujcujtlalpia: auh inqujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlatqujtl, in amanechichioalli, in amaxicolli, in amacozcatl, in amanecapantli, qujtlaololoitia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatizque: in ie iuhquj in oqujocencauhque evillotl, in jquac ie choqujliloc oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jcujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in coatica: auh qujn jquac in ioalnepantla, qujtlatiaia, vmpa in qujtocaiotiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompantitlan:

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[1] *Quimjlolo*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.

[2] *Evillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]."

441 765 778 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 553] He who was then born they did not yet bathe; they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

auh intla çā otlalmic in pochtecatl, quitoznequi: intlacamo oiaomic, in aço çan ococoliztlamic, çan ie no iuj in quichichioaia ixiptla, iece çan ichan in tlatlaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie ommotzcaloa, onmopiloa tonatiuh quitlatiaia.

No iuan mjtoa: in iquac ypan in ce coatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in iquac oiaotlatoloc, oniaotlalilioac, in omjto, in otecaquitiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vmpeoaia in iaoc: vncan iaoquiçaia, ipan otlatocaia, ipan vnnecemmaloaia, vmmotema, ommacocuj, onmolinja, eoa, mocmj, icxiconana, in iquiiach quaxitlacotl:

auh in aquin ipan otlacat ce coatl tonalli, quitoaia, quipiltiaia, quimacehualtiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, ilhuiçe, mācehuale muchioaz, mocuiltonoz, vnca quiquanj iez: auh intlaca motlamaceoa, in iuhqui itonal in, amo ipan muchioa in inemac, in icnopil: çan ichoatl quimitlacalhuja, quimopopolhuja, mjtoa: ixvilian conmocaujlia, quimotlaçolmjctilia. Etc.

yn aquin ipā otlacat in, aiamo caltiaia, quin ipā caltiaia in Ey maçatl: iquac quitocamaca, ipampa ie mjeccan omjto: in eitetl tonalli, in iquac tlacemilhujtiltia, quiqualittaia in tonalpouhque: ichoatl ic contlatotoquiliaia, vmpa quitlatequjniaia, vmpa contlachichiaia, inic cenca quitonalchicaoaia.

Auh in quitoquilia, vme miquiztli, iuh quitoa: amo qualli, atle vncā ca mācehualli. Auh in ey maçatl: iuh quitoa qualli tonalli, ie omjto: in eitetl muchipa qualcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujliztli in iuh quitoilhujaia tonalpouhque. Auh in navi tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nealtzaiopa tlavica, tlaceo-

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[3] [illegible]: ibid., "Y si el tal mercader moria de su enfermedad."

[4] Molina, op. cit. (Spanish-Nahuatl), Lado diestro.

[5] The text reads ce ocelotl; it is correct in the Real Palacio MS.

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue lump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be handicapped!"

825 777 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

441 The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand"—so foolish were they.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles—when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts—it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

When one who played patolli[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

Auh injc neci nionama, ycujtlapan ca, iuhquin pitzactli, iuhquin texotic: anoço coatepaliciviztli. Injc neci coatepalicivi pilmatli: cecnioel in choca, yoan ycujcailpa, yciacac tochtlalia nacatontli, oloton-tli, melactontli. Auh injc pati: quijtzonotla, quj-quiquijtzia in nacatontli.

Ioan in otztli: in iquac aiamo vel tlacatl motlalia in iconeuh, quiquitlacaualtiaia, in iquac valmomana metztli: injc amo conacopaittazque, quiniluiaia: macamo xoconjtacan in metztli, mjmjqujja, anoço tenqualaviz in amoconeuh.

Inic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in oço-matli ymacpal.

In oçomatli imacpal: in pochteca cenca quite-moaia, quimocujtlaviaia: in iquac in campa tiamiquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quitecaia, quilmach ic iciuhca aquj, iciuhca muchi cualo in tlein quinamaca: quil ichoanl iuh quiychiua in oçomatli ymac: ynic motlapo-loltia.

No iehoantin in tilmanamacaque: in iquac acan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac quicoa: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipilli, quilmach: quichilqua-qualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in iquac calvia inchan, quitoaia: acan oac in totiamic: ma ticmochilquaqualtican: njman ic iijc contecpa, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quilmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quitoa: quichilquaqualtia.

Inic cempoalli oce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in te-xolotl, yoan comalli.

In iquac aquja patoaia, in ichan, in jtexolouh, ioan in icomal, ioan in jmetl: ixtlapach quimanaia: auh in texolotl cana xomolco quipiloaia; quilmach: ic amo quipolaviaya in chane, çan ic tlatlanja.

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[22] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible], que llaman [illegible], o aver [illegible] en las ingles." See also Codice Rios (Il manoscritto messicano Vaticano 3738 detto il Codice Rios [Roma: Stabilimento Danesi, 1900], p. 54).

[23] The corresponding Spanish text refers to pelota, which is an error.